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Author(s): Stephen E. Thompson

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# THE ORIGIN OF THE PYRAMID TEXTS FOUND ON MIDDLE KINGDOM SAQQÂRA COFFINS\*

By STEPHEN E. THOMPSON

Previous studies of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins have asserted that the texts from the pyramid of Unas had more influence on the coffins than did those found in later Old Kingdom pyramids. A study of the order of the spells and of the versions of the Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins shows this not to be the case. The Pyramid Texts on these coffins have affinities to those occurring in the later Sixth Dynasty pyramids, particularly those of Pepi II and Neit. They are not, however, direct copies of texts in these later pyramids. The texts on any particular coffin exhibit affinities to those found in several different pyramids as well as variants which do not appear in any pyramid published to date. One possible source for the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins is hieratic copies of the Pyramid Texts in which a mixing of the texts from the pyramids has occurred and into which new features have been introduced by subsequent copyists.

PREVIOUS studies of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins have asserted that the collection of spells found in the pyramid of Unas (and in the mastaba of Senwosretankh) had more influence on the texts used on Middle Kingdom coffins than did those found in the later Old Kingdom pyramids. Altenmüller states that the spell-sequences of the Pyramid Texts used during the Middle Kingdom 'weisen eine Fassung auf, durch die sie mit den Exemplaren der Frühen Fassung (Unas, Senwosretankh) und nicht mit denen der Späten Fassung (Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, Neit) zu verbinden sind'.<sup>1</sup> He further claims that between the end of the Old Kingdom and the occurrence of the Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom sources there was no further development and that the expansions of the Pyramid Texts in the later pyramids had no influence on the Middle Kingdom editions of the Pyramid Texts. Barta has expressed a similar opinion. He presents a series of mathematical calculations which, he maintains, demonstrate that the version of the Pyramid Texts found in the Pyramid of Unas is 'das am intensivsten überlieferte Textcorpus' of Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom sources.<sup>2</sup>

An examination of the textual variations in the Pyramid Text spells on these coffins and tomb-walls, however, yields a somewhat different view of the influence of the various Old Kingdom pyramid sources on the Middle Kingdom texts. As part of a study of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins and burial chambers from Saqqâra, these texts were compared with those of the Old Kingdom pyramids (including Aba) and the mastaba of Senwosretankh. The aim was to determine whether a particular source could be identified for the Saqqâra texts, which were chosen because they contain a larger number of Pyramid Text spells than any other group of Middle Kingdom coffins.

\*A version of this paper was read at the 1988 ARCE meeting in Chicago. I would like to thank Professors Leonard Lesko, Eugene Cruz-Urbe and William Ward for their comments and suggestions on both versions of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 51.

<sup>2</sup> W. Barta, *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 2.

Of the twenty-one Saqqâra coffins and tomb-walls which contain Pyramid Texts, I was only able to include fourteen, since the texts of seven coffins are presently unavailable.<sup>3</sup> These Pyramid Texts were arranged in parallel columns and then compared with all the published Pyramid Texts found in the above-mentioned sources. The results of this comparison recalls a statement of Hayes concerning the texts of the mastaba of Senwosretankh: 'the variants ... in the texts ... are far too numerous, too distinctive, and in many cases too independently and intelligently conceived ever to have occurred in texts copied directly from these [pyramid] versions'.<sup>4</sup> He further stated that the texts in Senwosretankh are 'in no sense the result of an archaistic copying of particular ancient buildings, objects and texts'. This is also true of the texts found on the Saqqâra coffins. The numerous variants indicate that they are not the results of the direct copying of an Old Kingdom source. For example, in Sq6C, PT 837c, which in all the pyramids reads *wʿb bꜣ.k wʿb šꜣm.k*, reads instead *wʿb bꜣ.k imy nꜥr.w wʿb šꜣm.k imy šꜣ.w*. The additional phrases were apparently borrowed from PT 839b, which reads *wʿb šꜣm.k imy šꜣ.w wʿb bꜣ.k imy nꜥr.w*. Since the *bꜣ* and *šꜣ* are mentioned in inverse order in the two instances, the text in Sq6C cannot be a scribal error in which PT 839b was inadvertently copied for PT 837c. Rather, this text is an example of a variant introduced by a scribe, a variant in this instance based on a subsequent passage in the Pyramid Text corpus.

However, while the texts of the Saqqâra coffins were not copied directly from Old Kingdom pyramid sources, a relationship remains. For example, the texts on the top of Sq3C are in an order which apparently derives from the order of the spells found on the west wall of the pyramid of Neit. Furthermore, the details of the texts demonstrate a connection between the two. In Sq3C, PT 828b includes the phrase *dmdꜣ.s n.k ʿwt.k*, which to date occurs only in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neit. This indicates that Sq3C used as its source for PT 828b a document which preserves the text of this spell as it occurs in those pyramids. This phrase is omitted in PT 828b on Sq4C, indicating that this version comes from a source related to the text of the pyramids of Pepi I and Merenre, where this phrase is likewise omitted. The results of a comparison between coffin Sq3C and the Pyramid Texts are presented in table 1. From a study of this table, it is evident that the Pyramid Texts of Sq3C do not follow any single pyramid source. The texts of the pyramids of Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit all seem to have had an influence on Sq3C, though that of Pepi II and Neit is stronger. The same can be said for all the Saqqâra coffins on which the texts are sufficiently well preserved to make the comparison statistically valid. Each shows affinities to the texts found in several Old Kingdom sources. For those sources which are poorly preserved, what few texts remain show affinities to the later pyramid versions rather than to the earlier. Of the 108 instances in which a text from the Saqqâra coffins or tomb-walls shows an affinity to a text in a particular Old Kingdom pyramid or pyramids, 17% are attributable to Unas, while 71% are attributable to the later pyramid sources.<sup>5</sup> The remaining 12% are attributable to Senwosretankh.

<sup>3</sup> Coffins Sq1C, Sq2C, Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C, Sq6C, Sq7C, Sq9C, Sq10C, Sq12C, Sq13C, Sq1Ch and burial chambers Sq1Sq and Sq2Sq were included. The source of the texts for this study was the collation sheets of the Egyptian Coffin Texts project and a photograph of the texts of Sq1Ch. I would like to thank Prof. Janet Johnson and the Oriental Institute for making copies of these available to me. The remaining Saqqâra coffins were apparently never copied for the project.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastaba of Se'n-Wosret-'Ankh at Lisht* (New York, 1937; reprint, 1973), 11.

<sup>5</sup> T – 5.5%, P – 13%, M – 13%, N – 21%, Nt – 18.5%.

TABLE I. *Sq3C*

PT 51c	Sq3C:	<i>int. n. f twst. n. f</i>
	N:	<i>int. n. f twst. n. f</i>
PT 576a	Sq3C:	<i>shm. n. f n. t ib n sth</i>
	N:	<i>shm. n. f n. k ib n stš</i>
PT 580a	Sq3C:	<i>m rn. k n Bryt</i>
	N:	<i>m rn. k n Bryt</i>
PT 582d	Sq3C:	<i>ir. n. f n k. f im. t htp. f</i>
	N, Nt:	<i>ir. n. f n k. f im. k htp. f</i>
PT 629b	Sq3C:	<i>m dbn phr hꜣw nbw. t</i>
	N:	<i>m dbn phr hꜣw nbw. t</i>
PT 635c	Sq3C:	<i>ndr. n n. t Dhwtꜣ hftyw. k hsq*</i>
	M:	<i>ndr. n n. k Dhwtꜣ hftyw. k hsq</i>
PT 636c	Sq3C:	<i>prꜣ. t[ꜣꜣ] im. s</i>
	T:	<i>prꜣ. t ꜣꜣ im. s</i>
PT 785b	Sq3C:	<i>sk. t sn m hꜣbꜣ. s</i>
	P:	<i>sk. t sn m hꜣbꜣ. s</i>
PT 823a	Sq3C:	<i>Nwt pr. n irty m tp. t</i>
	P:	<i>Nwt pr. n irty m tp. t</i>
PT 828b	Sq3C:	<i>dmd. s n. t ꜣwt. k</i>
	N, Nt:	<i>dmd. s n. k ꜣwt. k</i>
PT 830b	Sq3C:	<i>d. n Dhwtꜣ ir. t m-ꜣ. f</i>
	P:	<i>Dhwtꜣ d. n. f ir. t Hr</i>
PT 847a	Sq3C:	<i>šn. n. t n. t nꜣr nb</i>
	Nt:	<i>šn. n. k n. k nꜣr. w nb</i>
PT 850c	Sq3C:	<i>sfh. f dw. t nb. t iryt. f</i>
	Nt:	<i>sfh. f dw. t iryt. f</i>
PT 1630d	Sq3C:	<i>Km. t m rn. k n Km wr</i>
	N, Nt:	<i>Km m rn. k n Km wr</i>
PT 1634c	Sq3C:	<i>m rn. k n š-[nꜣr]</i>
	N, Nt:	<i>m rn. k n š-nꜣr</i>

\*Both Sq3C and M write *hsq* with the composite hieroglyph of an owl being decapitated, in contrast to T, P, and N, which use the alphabetic signs.

Before attempting an explanation, it should be emphasized that the texts on the coffins must have been taken from hieratic documents, judging from the occasional confusion of signs in the Saqqâra coffins, and that more than one such document was used as a source for the Pyramid Text spells. Although the tops of coffins Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C contain basically the same series of spells, details of the texts indicate that Sq3C and Sq6C are descended from similar hieratic originals, while Sq4C and Sq5C depend on a slightly different tradition. It is of interest that both traditions appear on Sq5C and Sq6C, which are the inner and outer coffins of the same person. There also appear to have been two traditions for the group of serpent spells found on Sq1C, Sq2C and Sq1Sq.

The origin of the hieratic manuscripts from which the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins were taken remains to be determined. It should be noted that the sources for the texts found in the Old Kingdom pyramids were also hieratic manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> From the facts, that the Old Kingdom pyramids differ in the collection of spells used,<sup>7</sup> and that the texts of the spells also show occasional differences in the various pyramids,<sup>8</sup> it would appear that a separate hieratic document was created for each pyramid prior to its decoration. It has been suggested that there existed during the Middle Kingdom a funerary scriptorium (probably more than one), in which were kept master copies of funerary texts written on papyrus.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that within this scriptorium the papyri which had been created for the Old Kingdom pyramids were stored and used as sources for subsequent manuscripts. The fact that features unique to individual Old Kingdom pyramids appear in the texts of the Saqqâra coffins (see table 1) would seem to indicate that these earlier manuscripts were not discarded after use. It is possible that, over a period of time, as these papyri were recopied, a mixing of the various Pyramid Text traditions could have taken place, accompanied by the introduction of new features. The result is what we find in the Saqqâra sources: a single Middle Kingdom tradition having affinities with several Old Kingdom sources but relying most heavily on the texts of the later pyramids for their models.

Since the Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins indicate that the texts of the later pyramids had a greater influence on the form of these texts than did the earlier, a reconsideration of the conclusion of Altenmüller and Barta is in order. In his discussion of the use of spell-groups of Pyramid Texts outside of the pyramids, Altenmüller identifies six spell-groups to which he assigns the letters A through F<sup>10</sup> (table 2). He contends that since group A, the most frequently recorded spell-group, occurs in examples of both the earlier (Unas and Senwosretankh) and the later versions of the Pyramid Texts, one must first determine to which version of the Pyramid Texts the other spell-groups recorded on the coffins and in the sarcophagus chambers belong before it can be determined from which version series A derives.<sup>11</sup>

Of Altenmüller's remaining five sequences of spells, only two appear in the pyramids in the form in which we find them in the Middle Kingdom sources. Series B, D, and E occur in no Old Kingdom pyramid, and B contains texts not found in any pyramid, but which form part of the corpus of the Coffin Texts. Of the remaining two series, F is found only in the pyramid of Neit and C occurs in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit. Altenmüller assigns series D and E to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts due to their association with the other series (i.e. D with C and B, E with D).<sup>12</sup> It remains to be

<sup>6</sup> Hayes' argument for a hieratic source for the texts of Senwosretankh also applies to the texts of the Old Kingdom pyramids. See Hayes, op. cit. 8, and the references cited in his n. 19 which refer to the Old Kingdom pyramids.

<sup>7</sup> H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* v, 15.

<sup>8</sup> L. Speleers, *Comment faut-il lire les Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes?* (Brussels, 1934), 148–56.

<sup>9</sup> See J. P. Allen, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 29; Hayes, op. cit. 11; Altenmüller, *LÄ* v, 20; M. Weber, *LÄ* iv, 954–7.

<sup>10</sup> Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual*, 46–51.

<sup>11</sup> Altenmüller, op. cit. 46–7.

<sup>12</sup> Altenmüller assigns series B to the earlier version because it is associated with spells of this version (270–272, 302–304) in Q1Q. Series D is assigned to the earlier version because it is found together with series C in Sq4C and with series B in B10C. Series E and F Altenmüller considers to be a continuation of series D in coffins B9C and B10C. See Altenmüller, op. cit. 47–51.

TABLE 2. *Altenmüller's Series*

Series A	Series B	Series C	Series D	Series E	Series F
213	579	588	593	422	468
214	CT63-74	446	356	374	412
215	CT832	449	357	CT517	723
216	670	428	364	424	690
217	532B	447-448	677	366-369	674
218	CT837	450-451	365	423	462
219	CT838	367-368	373	370-372	675
220	CT839	589-590	712B	332	676
221		426-434		722	
222		443-444			
		454			
		425			
		455			
		var 448			
		356			

seen, however, whether the series A, C, and F belong to the earlier version. If series C and B do not belong to this version, then neither do D and E (dependent on D). The only way to determine from which version series A derives is to compare the texts of this series in the pyramids with the texts found in the Middle Kingdom sources. Unfortunately, series A is not found in its entirety on the Saqqâra coffins which form the basis of the present study. While the numerous variants in those parts of series A which do occur in the Saqqâra coffins indicate that they were not copied from any particular Old Kingdom pyramid source, they show few characteristics which enable us to identify individual pyramid influence.

Series C, however, is well-represented in the Saqqâra coffins. Of the nine occurrences of this group on later sources, seven are on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins. Of these sources Altenmüller believes that only Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C contain the complete sequence (table 3). He notes that the introductory spells of series C (588, 446, 449, 428) appear in an order which does not occur in any Old Kingdom source. Only the series as it occurs in Neit begins with spell 588 followed by spell 446, as it does in the Saqqâra coffins. Following these two spells, the coffins insert spells 449 and 428, also found at the beginning of the series as it occurs in Merenre and Pepi II. Altenmüller contends that since the texts on the tops of the Middle Kingdom coffins are recorded in the normal direction of right to left, the texts in these coffins should be considered the more nearly correct order of the introductory series which appears in a disordered fashion in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit<sup>13</sup> (table 4). He further notes that two examples of series C from the Saqqâra coffins, Sq3C and Sq4C, differ in the order of the spells found at the end of the series as it occurs in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neit. In the pyramids we find spells 452 and 453 between 455 and 356. On the coffins, however, we find spells 448 and the beginning of 449.

<sup>13</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 27-8.



TABLE 3. *Series C*

Sq3C	Sq4C	Sq5C	Sq6C
588	588	588	588
446	446	466	446
449	449	449	449
428	428	428	428
447-448	447-448	447-448	447-448
450-451	450-451	450-451	450-451
367-368	367-368	367-368	367-368
589-590	589-590	589-590	589-590
426-434	426-434	426-434	426-434
443-444	443-444	443-444	443-444
454	454	454-455	454
425	425		425
455	455		455
448-449	448-449		
356	356		
cf. PT 628-629			
PT 1788 + misc.			
593			

TABLE 4. *Series C in the Pyramids*

Merenre	Pepi II	Neit	Pepi I
428	412 end	588	367-368
588	449	446-448	426-435
446	428	450-451	436-438
449	446-448	367-368	336
447-448	450-451	589-590	335
450-451	367-368	426-434	439-446
589-590	589-590	443-444	428
426-434	426-434	454	447-453
443-444	443-444	425	356
454	454	455	454
425	425	452-453	425
452-453	452-453	593	356-357
	356		

Altenmüller asserts that since coffins Sq3C and Sq4C appear to be following the same spell-series for group C, and that since the Middle Kingdom coffins show a general preference for the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts, the spell-sequence C found in the coffins should be considered a component part of the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts, which was omitted from the pyramids of Unas and Teti for unknown reasons.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Altenmüller notes that almost all the spells which make up this series occur on the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Pepi I but in an order quite different from

<sup>14</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 48-9.

that found in the later pyramids and coffins (table 4). He suggests two possible explanations for this: (1) the copy of the spell-sequence in Pepi I goes back to a version in which the spells were ordered differently than in Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit, or (2) the distribution of the spells in Pepi I is due to the fact that the west wall was carved in a complex series of stages which led to a disordering of the spells in the sequence. He prefers the latter explanation because he feels it unlikely that the pattern of spells found in Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit, and in the coffins, would have had a completely different form a short time before Pepi I. He is not completely convinced by his explanation, however, because he notes that it remains unexplained why a spell-series which had had a standard sequence since the pyramid of Merenre and on the Middle Kingdom coffins would show a completely different order in its oldest attestation in the pyramid of Pepi I.<sup>15</sup>

Altenmüller's conclusion that the order of series C found in coffins Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C is the original one and that series C was part of the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts (omitted from the pyramids of Unas and Teti for unknown reasons) is not supported by the texts and the order of the spells found on the Saqqâra coffins, which show that the later pyramids, particularly those of Pepi II and Neit, had a greater influence than did the earlier pyramids. The order of the spells also indicates that the pyramid of Neit is the likely source for series C. As Altenmüller points out, the beginning of the series on the coffins is most like the beginning of the series in the pyramid of Neit. Furthermore, when considering the spells on the top of Sq3C, the most complete copy of series C, Altenmüller seems to have thought that the texts ended with spell 356.<sup>16</sup> This is not the case. There are ten more lines of text and these lines contain variants of PT 628–629, PT 1788, and spell 593.

Now the only pyramid in which spell 593 is associated with the spells in series C is that of Neit. I would therefore suggest that, while the texts for this series of spells derive from several different pyramid sources, the order is patterned after that of Neit. The differences which Altenmüller notes between the series on the Saqqâra coffins and the series as it occurs in the pyramids are undoubtedly the result of the further development which series C underwent after the Old Kingdom. I maintain that the order of the spells in the introduction of series C used on the coffins did not come into use until after the pyramid of Neit. That the introduction to the series on the coffins is a combination of the introductory spells found in Pepi II and Neit supports the idea that the texts on the coffins are the result of a mixing of the pyramid sources. I also believe that the occurrence of the spells of series C in a disordered fashion in the pyramid of Pepi I indicates that these spells had not yet taken the form in which we find them in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit and on the Middle Kingdom coffins. It is more logical to trace the development of this series of spells from its first partial appearance in the pyramid of Pepi I through to the Middle Kingdom coffins than to assume that the original form of the series is that found on the more recent sources, or that the differences which are found in the Old Kingdom occurrences of series C represent variations of an original pre-Unas text, evidence for which does not surface until the Middle Kingdom.

Let us now reconsider Altenmüller's series in light of the results of our study of the Saqqâra coffins. As stated previously, the partial occurrences of series A do not allow us to determine more than that they are not the result of the copying of a particular Old

<sup>15</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 29–31.

<sup>16</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 27.



Kingdom source. This is due to the fact that these texts have been transmitted rather uniformly and contain few diagnostic features in either the pyramid versions or the Saqqâra coffins. If my conclusions concerning the relative influence of the different pyramids are correct, then it is probable that manuscripts based on the texts of the later pyramids were the ultimate source for the coffins, although their influence is not evident. Altenmüller assigns series B to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts due to its association with spells of this version (270–272, 302–304) in burial chamber Q1Q (see above). These spells also occur in the later version of the Pyramid Texts, and if what is true for the Saqqâra coffins holds true for Q1Q, then these spells are more likely to show the influence of the later sources than the earlier. When it is noted that series B is largely made up of texts which to date are not found in any Old Kingdom pyramid, its attribution to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts is improbable. I have shown above that series C does not derive from the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts. Altenmüller assigns series D to that version due to its association with series C in Sq4C and with series B in B10C. Since neither of these series belongs to the earlier version, neither does D, or E, which was assigned to it because of its occurrence in B9C with series D. Finally, series F occurs to date only in the pyramid of Neit and is assigned by Altenmüller to the earlier version based on its association with series E in B9C, B10C and Papyrus Schmitt. Since series D does not originate in the earlier version, it cannot be used to support the attribution of series F to this version. In view of the influence of the later pyramid versions on the Saqqâra coffins, I would consider series F to have come into use with the pyramid of Neit, and it is this pyramid which probably served as the ultimate source of series F.

Barta takes a different approach to prove his assertion that the Pyramid Texts of Unas are those used most extensively on Middle Kingdom monuments. After listing all the Pyramid Texts which occur on Middle Kingdom coffins, he goes through a series of mathematical calculations to determine which of the five major pyramids (Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II) have the highest percentage of their texts transmitted to the Middle Kingdom coffins. He calculates the total number of lines in Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts<sup>17</sup> which record the texts from each pyramid, and then determines the number of these lines which appear on Middle Kingdom coffins. He concludes that 75.6% of the text lines from Unas are handed down, while the percentage of lines transmitted for the other pyramids is only 60.2% (T), 21.4% (P), 28.9% (M), and 34.7% (N). Barta then notes that a certain number of lines of the texts in the later pyramids are simply parallels to texts found in earlier pyramids, and that this number of lines for each pyramid should be subtracted from the total number of lines transmitted from each pyramid in order to determine the percentage of the texts unique to each pyramid which are found on the Middle Kingdom coffins. After making this adjustment he finds that, while 75.6% of the lines of text representing the texts of Unas occur on the Middle Kingdom coffins, only 31.4% of the texts unique to Teti were transmitted, while the percentage is even lower for each later pyramid (P – 14.6%, M – 3.9%, N – 9.2%). Barta then concludes from his calculation that 'erweist sich jedenfalls die Version der Unas-Pyramide als das am intensivsten überlieferte Textcorpus' on the Middle Kingdom sources.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908; reprint, Hildesheim, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> Barta, *op. cit.* 2.

The flaw in Barta's argument, however, is that one cannot assume that the pyramid in which a spell first appears necessarily served as the source for the spell as it appears on a Middle Kingdom monument. Most of the spells found in the pyramid of Unas are also found in the later Old Kingdom pyramids. The appearance of one of these spells on a Middle Kingdom coffin does not necessarily imply that the pyramid of Unas had any direct influence on the text as it occurs on the coffin. It is equally possible that the text of this spell could be related to its occurrence in a later pyramid. For example, the text of PT 227a on Sq1C is not related to the text of the pyramid in which this spell first occurs (Unas) but to the text of the pyramid of Pepi II. In view of the fact that the immediate sources for the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins were hieratic documents in which the influence of several Old Kingdom pyramids is observable, it is unlikely that the Middle Kingdom coffins were attempting to duplicate the texts found in any particular pyramid. Rather than viewing the use of the Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom coffins as in some sense 'archaizing' and looking to the earliest occurrence of these texts as their model, these texts should be seen as another step in the evolving tradition of the Pyramid Texts, continuing the development which took place with the composition of the texts found in each of the Old Kingdom pyramids.